844 and occasionally a boy's, afterbirth was buried in an anthill: if the insects ate it, the child would be industrious. The Yaudanchi followed this practice (J.W.).

The assistant washed the baby in warm water in a big basket and greased it on the back, chest, and stomach [kind of "grease" not specified]. A bit of red color might be added with the grease on the chest "to keep it from getting [a?] cold." The baby was laid on a layer of shredded willow bark, on a piece of old deerskin, wrapped in a blanket of feathers or rabbitskin, and tied onto its tule mat [553] cradle. It remained in this outfit constantly until it was named, about two weeks later, being taken out only for cleansing purposes.

Meanwhile the mother had removed to the heated pit. It was slightly longer and wider than her body and, when filled with heated rocks, ashes, bark, and mats, left its occupant at ground level. The woman lay face downward on deerskins. She wore no clothing save a belt and old breechclout, the latter loosely filled with shredded willow bark. The belt, opening on this occasion at the back, was tied, and the bark replaced, by the assistant. Deerskins were laid over the woman and for about one day she was surrounded with hot rocks laid on these and, in very cold weather, with a layer of warm ashes as well. More deerskins and rabbitskin blankets were laid over this. However, the upper layer of rocks and ashes was usually omitted. The baby was put with her. It was [853] given warm acorn gruel which it sucked off the mother's or assistant's fingers until the milk appeared. The mother drank warm water for a few days, then warm acorn gruel. She kept on this diet as long as she was on the warm pit.

She left the pit twice a day while it was being renovated and reheated. The length of her stay was, according to M.P., six days "when the baby's navel dropped off"; according to M.L., twelve days, the child's anatomy having nothing to do with it. (Again I feel that M.L.'s opinion is the older and more reliable and agrees with the data from neighboring tribes.)

An alternative to the use of the hot pit, or sometimes used in conjunction with it to discourage hemorrhage, was a steaming of the [314] vaginal tract with an infusion of redwood sap (ṭanal). A lump of this dried pitch was cracked up and dropped in a basket of boiling water. The woman fastened a rabbitskin blanket over her shoulders, and tied one or two deerskins under her belt so they hung from her waist; then she squatted over the steaming basket of medicine. This was said to be done each morning for six days. After the intro- [177] duction of European blankets the steamer surrounded herself and basket with the single large covering.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 103 b] Wukchumni.

853 A child was nursed for two years, even if a new baby were also nursing. Weaning was very
862 gradual. The child was given acorn mush, and pieces of meat to suck, and "it liked those things better and wanted them all the time." Nevertheless, children up to four or so continued to seek the breast on occasion and were given satisfaction. K.G.'s little boy of five was gently pushed aside when his pawing was annoying to his mother, who was nursing an infant of some fourteen months.

861 Mothers talked to their children telling them what they must do. M.L. said naughty children were whipped. One suspects this was an innovation due to Mission influence; even today all Yokuts observed treat their children with a comfortable firmness of speech and manner which achieves satisfactory results without resorting to pushing, yanking, smacking, much less whipping, the young offenders.

844 There were certain beliefs concerning childbirth and children. It was lucky to give birth at the new moon: the child, whether male
[842] or female "would grow with the moon." If a woman was sterile, it was because she had played at intercourse with boys when she was a little girl (M.L.). M.P. attributed sterility to carelessness during menstruation: "if a girl eats meat at that time it makes something hard so there is no room for a baby." One of M.P.'s cousins was in such a condition until she "drank something" which cured her; she has had two children since. A Yaudanchi woman named O'mo "had no children because she ate too much meat" (L.).

845 Twins were not regarded as good or bad fortune, though they entailed special care, if they were to survive. If one twin died, the other was sure to. M.L. said that, if a woman had twins, her daughter or granddaughter would have them also. She had never heard of anyone, native or white, having triplets and, when told of the phenomenon, asked if it would not kill the mother. She herself expressed a physical fear of having twins.

Kinship Terms

601 The Wukchumni kinship terms have been withheld with others from this publication. As with all Yokuts, cross and parallel cousins were classed with siblings and called by the same terms. Therefore, any cousin of another relative (of the same sex) was addressed by the same term as that relative; thus, a father's sister's cousin would be addressed as father's sister, or a father's sister's cousin's child (ego's second cousin) would be called sibling.[849] Degrees of relationship beyond this (as third

[849] This made for much confusion in recording personal and genealogical data as most informants glibly used English "brother" and "sister" when speaking of actual cousins.

[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
846 for some reason they could not be nursed, said N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel (warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth, as it was thought to aid the production of milk. She did not resume a full normal diet until about two months had passed. She could, however, have quail soup, which was also a special infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it," though usually it was not given until the child
[856 had reached the age of at least two months. The
825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the child will walk early. A bird was pounded up and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
862 after the age of three to five years, they might continue to take the breast, evidently as a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years. Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who had been out hunting, would come home and go to the mother's breast, as would girls of equal age, said N.W. From two years on, children were permitted to have any type of food they cared for and could manage. From a month on a baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing amounts. To start the child on solid food the mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it to the young one. "They look at the mother, then open their mouths, just like little birds." After the meat the child would have acorn gruel, the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips. By the age of five the child could hold its own basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children were given ground rabbit meat, but it was thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk, they were trained to go outside to urinate [they were in the cradle a good part of the time up to two years of age, of course]. If they did not learn readily, a medicine was prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?]. This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure [informant could not elucidate]. A child would be about five or six when this was done; "accidents" occurred as late as the age of thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
789 walk, the mother or someone of the family would hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed with it. If the little one looked back and showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks away. After that he keeps right on walking [sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her grandchildren?].

W Y 844 waist and over the abdomen, and gave her a cup of hot medicine made by boiling kičena ʻoša[170] in water.

In case of difficult birth a shaman was W Y 845 called. He talked to his supernatural helper, pressed his patient's belly, rubbed it with his talisman and blew on it. No singing, dancing, 755 cutting, or sucking was done. Usually a woman called on her own supernatural helper on such occasions: it was chiefly for such purposes that women sought power. Informant D. referred to the Wukchumni M.L.'s power in aiding childbirths.

W Y 844 The shaman was the only man present. The husband, at the time of delivery, moved out to sleep at the sweat house and have his meals with some relatives until his wife had her cleansing ritual. Some men observed a meat tabu during this time.

At the birth of the child the midwife cut its cord (dos) with a section of split cane (kadkʻad) and tied the stump with milkweed string. The afterbirth was buried; it was never put in water or in an anthill.[171] The baby was bathed at once in warm water. It was then wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket and bound W Y [853] to a forked-stick cradle (akhʻ ʻlaʻ). The use of a soft mattress-cradle was denied by D., as was the use of shredded bark, moss, or any other type of diaper.

The navel stump came off in three to six W Y 846 (theoretically six) days. It was put in a bead-decorated skin case and hung on the cradle hood for the infant to play with. If the stump were not kept, the baby would crawl around on the [856] ground searching for it and would never learn [777] to walk. It was preserved throughout life "for [237] good luck."

A hot bed of stones and ashes had been prepared for the mother in her own house and on this she lay, covered with deer and rabbitskin blankets for six days. She lay on her back (D.). Each day, either in the morning or evening, she W Y [824] steamed the vaginal tract. Brake fern (toʻoʻdi) was boiled in a big basket of water. The woman sat on the edge of a log, or on a stick resting between two forked stakes, with the steaming basket between her legs. She covered herself and the basket with deer and rabbitskin blankets, and remained until the steam was exhausted. The process of steaming was called teʻʻena ʻoštta, and was not used for any other purpose by anyone (D.).

For six days, while on the hot pit, the mother drank copiously of hot water and acorn gruel, her only sustenance. After that she ate seed and acorn mushes but kept the meat tabu for three months, when her cleansing ritual took place. A woman who failed to observe the

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[170] A tall plant with purple blossoms growing abundantly in the mountains.

[171] But D. said the Tsudamhi put the afterbirth in an anthill; and had heard of others who did.